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Old South Leaflets.

No. 158.

Gov. Andrew's Address to the Massachusetts Legislature.

May 14, 1861.

Gentlemen of the Senate and the House of Representatives:

The occasion demands *action*, and it shall not be delayed by *speech*. Nor do either the people or their representatives need or require to be stimulated by appeals or convinced by arguments. A grand era has dawned, inaugurated by the present great and critical exigency of the nation, through which it will providentially and triumphantly pass, and, soon emerging from apparent gloom, will breathe a freer inspiration in the assured consciousness of vitality and power. Confident of our ultimate future, confident in the principles and ideas of democratic republican government, in the capacity, conviction, and manly purpose of the American people, wherever liberty exists and republican government is administered under the purifying and instructing power of free opinion and free debate, I perceive nothing now about us which ought to discourage the good or to alarm the brave.

But the occurrence of public events universally known and needing no repetition here has compelled the constitutional government of our Federal Union to assert its rightful powers for the protection of its own integrity, and the maintenance of the honor, rights, and liberties of the whole people, by an appeal to the stout hearts and the strong right arms of all loyal States and patriotic men.

Massachusetts, by the unanimous acclaim of her million and a quarter of people, has already inspired every department of her

own public service with her traditional sentiment of perfect devotion to the cause of that common country which her successive generations have helped either to create or to support. And it is now only with a view to securing the aid and co-operation of the legislative branch, and in order to carry out more perfectly and more consistently with the system of our constitutional distribution of powers the measures requisite to a full performance of our duty as a State of the Union, that I have ventured to recall the members of the General Court from their private duties so speedily after the close of a laborious session.

Gentlemen, this is no war of sections,—no war of North on South. It is waged to avenge no former wrongs, nor to perpetuate ancient griefs or memories of conflict. It is the struggle of the people to vindicate their own rights, to retain and invigorate the institutions of their fathers,—the majestic effort of a National Government to vindicate its power and execute its functions for the welfare and happiness of the whole; and therefore, while I do not forget, I will not name to-day that "*subtle poison*" which has lurked always in our national system. And I remember, also, at this moment, that, even in the midst of rank and towering rebellion, under the very shadow of its torch and axe, there are silent but loyal multitudes of citizens of the South who wait for the national power to be revealed and its protecting flag unfurled for their own deliverance.

The guns pointed at Fort Sumter on the twelfth day of April, while they reduced the material edifice and made prisoners of its garrison, announced to Anderson and his men their introduction into the noble army of heroes of American history; and the cannon of the fort, as they saluted the American flag, when the vanquished garrison—unconquerable in heart—retired from the scene, saluted the immortal Stripes and Stars, flaming out in ten times ten thousand resurrections of the flag of Sumter, on hilltop, staff, and spire, hailed by the shouts and the joyful tears of twenty millions of freemen.

The proclamation of the President, summoning the rebels to disperse and the loyal militia to rally to the support of the National Capitol, menaced by Secessionists, was immediately followed in this State by a movement of four regimental commands of infantry, a battalion of rifles, and another of light artillery (all from the "Active Volunteer Militia" of Massachusetts), which, under all its circumstances of celerity of motion, promptness of obedience, and brilliancy of results, is unexampled

in anything I remember elsewhere of the conduct of citizen soldiery. The telegraphic call from the Department at Washington for two regiments reached the Executive of Massachusetts on the morning of Monday, the 15th of April, and was soon expanded into a call for four regiments. Availing ourselves of the organization happily existing in this Commonwealth partially prepared for active duty, and of the flexibility of our militia system, and with the aid of the legislation of this year permitting its indefinite numerical enlargement and the expansion of its companies to the full army size of sixty-four privates, together with the steps already taken to anticipate possible exigencies of the sort, and with the advantages of previous drill, discipline, and moral preparation induced by means of a General Order, promulgated to the militia in the month of January, the patriotic ardor and generous devotion of the people found means of efficient and prompt response. The telegraphic messages from Washington convinced me that no small reliance was placed on this Commonwealth to be early in the field, and, moreover, that no delay whatever would be consistent with the urgent demands of the public safety. Nor was any delay permitted. Every officer, civil and military, according to his position and means of usefulness, and many private citizens, with various aid, co-operated with the Commander-in-Chief; and by nine o'clock, on the Sabbath morning following the Monday on which the first telegram was received, the whole number of regiments demanded from Massachusetts were already either in Washington or in Fortress Monroe, or on their way to the defence of the National Capitol. Colonel Jones, at the head of the regimental command, of which the Sixth Regiment of the Massachusetts line was the nucleus, had already cut his way through a hostile and assailing force. His men, shedding their blood in the streets of Baltimore, and illustrating the quality of our arms by a movement as skilful as it was brave, had extricated themselves from their sudden and strange peril, and were already steadying the government, and actually garrisoned in the Senate Chamber of the Union. General Butler, gallantly following as rapidly as possible in company with the regiment under Munroe, to assume command in his capacity of brigadier over the Massachusetts men, had reached Philadelphia, where he heard of the attack upon the 6th, while it was yet in progress. Interrupted in his march by this new turn of affairs and the breach in the modes of travel and communication, it became necessary for the mo-

ment that our troops should seek another route to Washington, and also to endeavor to prevent the important post and position of Annapolis from seizure and its inhabitants from demoralization. These new necessities created a demand for other arms, to accompany the infantry which alone had been ordered from Washington; and a battalion of rifles, under the command of Major Devens, of Worcester (reinforced by the rifle corps of Captain Briggs from Pittsfield), and the Boston battalion of Light Artillery under Major Cook, were put into immediate requisition, and accompanied the infantry command under Colonel Lawrence, of which the Fifth Regiment of our line is the nucleus. The urgency of the occasion and the telegram of General Butler from Philadelphia, requesting artillery, and the military reasons palpably establishing the necessity of aiming at the substantial right, to the postponement of ceremonies or forms, convinced me that I ought to take the responsibility of putting these additional arms in motion, and of providing the requisite means for their equipment and transportation. This force arrived at New York on Sunday night, and sailed in two steamers on Monday, the 22d, for Annapolis, whither they had been preceded by Butler with Munroe's command from Philadelphia. On the preceding Saturday the Old Colony command, made up in part of Colonel Packard's and in part of Colonel Wardrop's regiments, had arrived at Fortress Monroe, Packard in the "State of Maine" steamer, by way of Fall River, and Wardrop in the steamer "Spaulding," directly from Boston. On the very day of their arrival, Wardrop's command had been put on board the United States steamer, the "Pawnee," and had left the fortress to assist in a brilliant movement, both of danger and success, in the destruction of United States vessels and military stores at Gosport Navy Yard, then menaced, and in immediate danger of falling into the hands of the public enemies. The saving of the venerable ship-of-war "Constitution," the "*Old Ironsides*" of our familiar speech and affectionate memories, is one of the happy omens and one of the first illustrations of that series of actions and events which characterized the conduct and enterprise of our soldiers after the landing at Annapolis, holding the post, saving another ship-of-war endangered from Baltimore, rebuilding a railroad, reconstructing locomotives, opening up the communication between Washington and Philadelphia, at the same time that they were enduring the hitherto untried deprivations of a camp, and the hardships

incident to a soldier's career, for which the suddenness of their call had permitted no adequate preparation.

The contracts and expenditures incidental to this movement of troops, to obtaining and arranging their final equipment, whether of arms or clothing, to their subsistence, and general comfort and protection, have been unhesitatingly incurred, in firm reliance upon the support and sympathy of the people and the approval of the legislature. Nor—in view of the known inadequacy of the national stores—have the Governor and Council hesitated to anticipate coming wants and to provide for military stores, clothing, and equipments as rapidly as possible, not only to supply current needs and to repair existing deficiencies, but to meet the certain demands of the approaching summer.

I cannot doubt that, to some extent, the suddenness of our necessary action, the novelty of our situation, and the fact of the inexperience of our whole people in the arts of war and the wants of camp life have exposed us all to some mistakes, to some loss of material, to some misadaptation of means to ends, and some oversight of economies possible to better opportunities or to greater experience. But I am confident that the service has been conducted by all its agents and departments with zealous care and honest effort to command success in the work of economy, not less than in the more brilliant and attractive spheres of gallant enterprise. The disbursements in the military service, which had been made up to the close of business yesterday, were:—

For subsistence	\$40,222.34
Clothing	90,823.92
Equipments	30,565.78
Transportation of troops	43,260.38
One-half of steamer "Cambridge"	45,000.00
One-half of steamer "Pembroke"	17,500.00
Telegraphing	272.76
	\$267,645.18

To these expenditures may be added (besides the amount of the contemplated purchase of arms in Europe) about \$100,000 more, to cover contracts for clothing and equipments now in progress, to meet present and future wants. Of all these contracts and disbursements more detailed statements are ready for exhibition.

Nearly all these expenditures (aside from the purchase of the steamers) constitute valid claims upon the Federal government, since its lack of such outfits and provisions as are required by soldiers on the march and in the camp imposed upon us the necessity of procuring supplies for immediate use and of preparation for future demands. The contracts described as in progress are in part for fatigue suits, and also for full uniforms for summer campaign service, adequate to the wants of 6,000 men.

I ought not, in this connection, to omit to allude to the unremitting care that has been cast upon the whole Executive Council, which has held daily sessions during the past month, and whose committees on contracts and accounts have been constantly and laboriously occupied.

In truth and courtesy I must add that, whatever success has thus far been achieved in our military operations is largely due to the incessant exertions and chivalrous devotion of my military aides-de-camp, to whom the Commonwealth is indebted for invaluable services far beyond the immediate duties of their official stations, and for which I gladly confess my personal obligation. I am also under special and peculiar obligation to some gentlemen, whose time, withdrawn from the important cares of their private business, was generously offered to the Commonwealth and accepted in the same spirit in which it was tendered, and whom I would gladly designate by name, were I permitted to do so by the proprieties of this occasion.

Very soon after the commencement of our preparations, the increase of business rendered the appointment of a Quartermaster-general, in accordance with the provisions of the Constitution and the General Statutes, an obvious necessity; and I nominated to that office a gentleman who has generously and faithfully performed its duties, for which no compensation has been provided by law. This withdrawal of certain duties, not properly pertaining to the office of the Adjutant-general, has enabled the crowded business of his bureau to be conducted with an efficiency and despatch otherwise impossible.

But, even with all this zealous and faithful co-operation, it is obvious that a broader and more comprehensive organization of the staff of the Commander-in-Chief is required by the condition of affairs. It is my opinion that an officer with substantially the functions of commissary-general is needed to accompany the Massachusetts troops in the field, and that the institution, at least temporarily, of a regular medical bureau is particularly

desirable, its duties having thus far been generously performed by a commission of medical gentlemen in Boston informally appointed. With this view, I suggest that it may be advisable to authorize the Governor, with the advice of the Executive Council, to institute and commission such additional Staff Officers as the public business may, in his judgment, from time to time require, and in the same manner to fix their compensation, and to remove them, or to discontinue their offices; and, further, to define and prescribe the respective duties of the various departments of the staff.

I respectfully recommend that an appropriation be made to cover these expenses and contracts already incurred, as well as such others as may hereafter be indicated, and of such additional public service as the legislature may direct.

In view of the great lack of arms existing in this Commonwealth, certain to become apparent in the event of a continued struggle,—a want shared by the States in common with each other,—under the advice and consent of the Council, I commissioned a citizen of Massachusetts on the twenty-seventh day of April (who sailed almost immediately in the steamer "Persia") to proceed to England, charged with the duty of purchasing Minié rifles, or other arms of corresponding efficiency, in England or on the Continent, as he might find it needful or desirable. To this end he was furnished with a letter of credit to the amount of fifty thousand pounds sterling, and he was attended by an accomplished and experienced armorer, familiar with the workshops of the Old World. The production of fire-arms at home will of necessity remain for a considerable period inadequate to the home demand, and I await with much interest the arrival from abroad of our expected importation; and I have no doubt that Congress, at its approaching special session, will relieve this Commonwealth from the payment of the duties chargeable thereon.

In addition to its other military defences the Nautical School ship has been fitted up to aid in guarding the coast of the Commonwealth. She has been armed with four six-pound cannon and fifty-two muskets. The collector of the district of Boston and Charlestown has commissioned and placed on board the ship an "aid-to-the-revenue," with instructions to overhaul all suspicious vessels, warning him to use that authority with caution and moderation. Each afternoon, at the expiration of business hours, the collector telegraphs to the station at Hull the names of all vessels having permission to pass out of the harbor of Boston,

and, the list being immediately forwarded to the ship, the "aid" is authorized to order all vessels not so reported, and attempting to leave the harbor between sunset and sunrise, to wait till the next day, and until he is satisfied of their right to pass.

The commander of the ship is instructed to assist the aid-to-the-revenue, to see that thorough discipline is at all times maintained, that the rules of the ship are strictly obeyed, that all due economy be practised, that the exercises of the school are daily continued, and to see that the boys receive kind treatment, and their habits, morals, and education, are carefully and constantly regarded. On the seventh of this month the ship left the harbor of Boston, and is now cruising in the bay in the performance of the duties assigned her.

A sense of insecurity along our coast under the late piratical proclamation of Jefferson Davis, as well as our constant wants for transportation service, have induced a purchase for the Commonwealth, as a part owner with the underwriters of Boston, of the steamer "Cambridge," of about 860 tons' burden, and of the steamer "Pembroke," of 240 tons, both of which, equipped with competent naval armament, and ready to fight their way over the seas, are engaged in service. The "Cambridge" has carried a full cargo of arms, men, and supplies in ample quantities, not only to Fortress Monroe, but up the Potomac itself. And, in spite of the danger supposed to menace her from its banks, she has safely carried tents, stores, provisions, and clothing to our troops at Washington.

Besides making the requisite appropriations to meet these and other expenses, and adopting measures to establish the power of the Executive to meet the emergencies of the occasion on a distinctly legal foundation, my other principal purpose in convening the General Court was to ask its attention to the subject of a *State Encampment for Military Instruction*.

Wise statesmanship requires an adequate anticipation of all future wants of the controversy, whether as to the number or quality of the military force, its discipline, instruction, arms, or equipment. At this moment there exist one hundred and twenty-nine companies newly enlisted into the active militia, all of whom were induced to enroll themselves by the possibility of active duty in the field. Many of these are anxious to receive orders for service; and, withdrawing themselves from other avocations, they are now endeavoring to perfect themselves in the details of a soldier's routine of duty. It seemed equally an

injustice toward those who are disposed to arms, and to all other citizens on whom future exigencies might cast the inconvenient necessity of taking the field, to discourage these efforts and struggles of patriotic ambition. It is important to secure a reasonable number of soldiers, to have them ascertained, within reach, and in a proper condition for service; and it is scarcely less important that other citizens should be left as free as may be from the distractions of a divided duty, so as to pursue with heart and hope the business enterprises of private life. The best public economy is found in the forethought of considered plans, disposing the means, pursuits, and people of the whole community, so as to meet all exigencies without confusion, and with the least possible derangement of productive industry; and I have, therefore, to these ends, earnestly considered the suggestions of various eminent citizens, the written requests or memorials, numerously signed, which have reached me, and the advice of the highest officers in our own militia, all uniting in the recommendation of a State Encampment.

I recommend the subject to the wise and careful judgment of the legislature, venturing to suggest that, in order to secure success proportioned to its importance, any such encampment should be confined to those enlisting themselves for an extended term of actual service, and should not include the ordinary militia, who are only liable to three months' duty in a year; that it should be an encampment for thorough military instruction in drill, discipline, and camp duty; that all who enter it should, while there, come under the rules and laws of active military service; that for the principal commander or instructor there should be obtained, if possible, an officer of the army, of rank, experience, culture, and high character, who, with a proper staff, should be specially appointed for this service, subject to control and removal, as circumstances may require, by the Commander-in-Chief. The number of soldiers or regiments to be at any one time placed in camp should be fixed by the legislature, and also the rate of compensation and the terms of enlistment. The encampment may be at one place, or several encampments may be established under a single military commander, or otherwise, at convenience, and the power to put an end to the encampment at any time, when desirable, should be reserved to the Executive; nor should any persons be retained in camp longer than the public service may clearly seem to demand. I offer this subject to your consideration, gentlemen, with a consciousness

of the heavy care and difficult responsibilities which the adoption of any scheme of the sort indicated will impose upon the Commander-in-Chief, and with great personal diffidence, but with a hearty willingness to attempt any task which the cause of the country and the good of the people may impose, and with entire confidence in the support to be found in the aid of those who will surround me, and in the reasonable certainty of the success of any good work, honestly undertaken.

Many military organizations are now receiving aid, more or less ample, from cities and towns. The companies thus assisted are under many disadvantages, and are trying in a desultory way to fit themselves for duty. But, pursuing their efforts without uniformity of system or method, the number of soldiers, the expense they incur, and the proficiency they make are all unknown, while the benefit of their exertions is but partially realized, and the burdens are unequally borne. I venture to suggest that the practice begun in some towns of offering bounties on enlistment is attended with many inconveniences, not the least of which is the evil of different rates of compensation for soldiers of equal rank and merit in the same regiment; and, while no necessity exists for this course, it is liable to the objection of weakening the capacity of the people to afford special aid and relief to the families of soldiers which may want while husbands and fathers are in the field.

Any relief needed by our troops, whether by reason of delays of payment by the general government or otherwise, should be provided for under authority of the State and according to a uniform system.

At present the troops willing to march under the orders of the President exceed many times in number the utmost limit which can now be received at Washington or its neighborhood, although, unless some unforeseen and sudden end shall be put to the conflict, even more will ultimately be needed. Yet I cannot too strongly urge the unspeakable importance of husbanding the time and industry of all the people of the Commonwealth. I exhort them, therefore, to cultivate their resources, to devote themselves with increased assiduity to all the useful pursuits and arts of peaceful skill and labor, and especially to devote the utmost effort to increase the agricultural products of the year. Let every man not set apart for present military duty devote himself, as not less a patriot than his more martial neighbors, to the patient and quiet

pursuits which increase the wealth and security of all, remembering that a noble purpose

"Makes drudgery divine;
Who sweeps a room as for God's law
Makes that and th' action fine."

I trust that the present experience will inaugurate a return to the only system capable of guarding a State against surprise, and preserving it from ultimate disaster,—I mean the arming and training of the whole militia. Devoted in heart to the interests of peace, painfully alive to the calamities and sorrows of war, I cannot fail to see how plainly the rights and liberties of a people repose upon their own capacity to maintain them.

I recommend the authorization of a permanent loan for the payment of the expenses of this new emergency, to be effected by instalments as the Executive Department may find it expedient. I suggest, also, that the scrip may be partly issuable in pieces of fifty or one hundred dollars each, so that small capitalists may share in the benefits of the opportunity for safe investment which the occasion will afford. The offers from the banking institutions of the Commonwealth, of loans to the Treasury, communicated to the Executive since the 15th of April, reach the aggregate amount of six millions four hundred thousand dollars, and whatever moneys have been needed by the Treasurer have been promptly advanced, pursuant to these offers. Their confidence in the good faith of the State, in view of the fact that our contracts have been made in the absence of previous legislation, is not less apparent than their reliance upon its pecuniary condition; and, in truth, a recurrence to the last annual report of the State Auditor renders it clear that the indebtedness of the Commonwealth (exclusive of liabilities assumed to promote public works, and assured by ample mortgages) is so trifling, while its wealth and resources are so vast, that the scrip of Massachusetts must be regarded as second to no security in the world. The tendency to hoard, in times of commotion, is a circumstance aggravating the natural perturbations of society; and it offers a strong motive of public policy for extending to all classes the opportunity of investments.

I desire to cultivate a spirit of confidence in the Federal government, its capacity, its resources, and its administration. The States and the people owe it to themselves and to justice that

they shall cautiously abstain from needless, careless, or in any way uneconomical disbursements, into which inconsiderate officials may be tempted by the expectation of ultimate repayment from the Treasury of the United States. We ought to husband every resource, to serve every interest of our parent government, to watch over and protect its pecuniary credit, and to assist its loans, in a spirit of patriotic sympathy free from any sordid taint of personal selfishness; and I respectfully ask you to consider whether power may not properly be vested in some department of the Commonwealth to intervene with the aid of our own credit as a State, in any possible future contingency of pecuniary weakness at Washington.

In this grave national experience it becomes us not only to acquit ourselves as men, by courage and enterprise, but also to remember that every virtue, civil as well as military, calls on us with more commanding voice. Patient endurance, unflinching perseverance in every duty, whether of action or passion, at such a moment becomes grand and heroic. Nor can I urge too strongly the duty of faithful and filial union of heart with those to whom are committed the responsibilities of the central power. Whether they who have to guide the current of national action seem fast or slow, narrow or broad, I trust that Massachusetts men will, with equal devotedness, enact their part in this warfare, as good soldiers of a great cause.

It is impossible that such an uprising of the people as we have witnessed—so volcanic in its energy—should not manifest itself here and there in jets of unreasonable passion, and even of violence, against individuals who are suspected of treasonable sympathies. But I am glad to believe that respect for every personal right is so general and so profound throughout Massachusetts that few such demonstrations have occurred in our community. Let us never—under any conceivable circumstances of provocation or indignation—forget that the right of free discussion of all public questions is guaranteed to every individual on Massachusetts soil, by the settled conviction of her people, by the habits of her successive generations, and by express provisions of her constitution. And let us therefore never seek to repress the criticisms of a minority, however small, upon the character and conduct of any administration, whether State or National.

For myself I entertain a most cordial trust in the wisdom and patriotism of the President of the United States and his Cabinet, and of the venerable head of the American army, whose long and

eminent career has given him a place second to no living captain of our time. True to his allegiance to his country and to himself, may he long be spared to serve his countrymen, and to enjoy their gratitude; and, though white the marble and tall the aspiring shaft which posterity will rear to record his fame, his proudest monument will be their affectionate memory of a life grand in the service of peace not less than of war, preserving in their hearts forever the name of Winfield Scott.

Surrounded by universal sympathy and aid, it is beyond my power to bear separate testimony to the value and merits of the various gifts and services offered and performed in behalf of the State and in amelioration of the hardships of those who bear the immediate brunt of war. From every department of social, business, and religious life, from every age, sex, and condition of our community, by gifts, by toil, by skill and handiwork, out of the basket and the store and out of the full hearts of the community, they have poured through countless channels of benevolence and patriotism.

But how shall I record the grand and sublime uprising of the people, devoting themselves, their lives, their all! No creative art has ever woven into song a story more tender in its pathos or more stirring to the martial blood than the scenes just enacted, passing before our eyes in the villages and towns of our own dear old Commonwealth. Henceforth be silent, ye shallow cavillers at New England thrift, economy, and peaceful toil! Henceforth let no one dare accuse our northern sky, our icy winters, or our granite hills!

"*Oh, what a glorious morning!*" was the exulting cry of Samuel Adams, as he, excluded from royal grace, heard the sharp musketry which on the dawn of the 19th of April, 1775, announced the beginning of the war of independence. The yeomanry who in 1775, on Lexington Common and on the banks of Concord River, first made that day immortal in our annals, have found their lineal representatives in the historic regiment which on the 19th of April, 1861, in the streets of Baltimore, baptized our flag anew in heroic blood,—when Massachusetts marched once more "*in the sacred cause of liberty and the rights of mankind.*"

Senators and Representatives:

Grave responsibilities have fallen, in the Providence of God, upon the government and the people; and they are welcome. They could not have been safely postponed. They have not

arrived too soon. They will sift and try this people, all who lead and all who follow. But this trial, giving us a heroic present to revive our past, will breathe the inspiration of a new life into our national character and reassure the destiny of the Republic.

That such a man should be made governor of Massachusetts was, of course, an inevitable incident in the logic of events. He could not have prevented it had he tried. But the exact time at which he was elected had in it something providential. Never did the Ship of State more need such firmness, wisdom, forecast, and energy at the helm.

"Each petty hand
Can steer a ship becalmed, but he that will
Govern and carry her to her ends, must know
His tides, his currents; how to shift his sails;
What she will bear in foul, what in fair weathers;
What her springs are, her leaks, and how to stop them;
What strands, what shelves, what rocks do threaten her;
The forces and the natures of all winds,
Gusts, storms, and tempests; when her keel ploughs hell,
And deck knocks heaven; then to manage her
Becomes the name and office of a pilot."

And such a pilot Governor Andrew proved himself to be. Knowing, as he did, the philosophy of the slave system, and knowing, also, the purposes of its champions, the Slaveholders' Rebellion could not take him by surprise. As early as the middle of December, 1860, he had visited Washington, conversed familiarly with the leading public men of the South, and clearly perceived that all the movements relating to compromise were but scenes in a clumsily acted political farce. He looked straight through all the plausibilities to the realities of the situation, and returned to Boston as much convinced that the South meant war as he was on the day when the first gun fired on Sumter woke everybody to the fact. From his insight sprang his foresight. It was mainly through his exertions that the active militia of Massachusetts were placed on a war footing, ready to march at the first word of command. You all remember with what sagacity this was done, and you all remember, too, with what sneers and gibes his forecast was then rewarded. His general order to the militia was promulgated in January, 1861, and the memorable 12th of April, which opened the costliest and bloodiest of civil wars, found him all prepared. He received his telegram from Washington, for troops, on Monday, April 15. He was able to say that by nine o'clock on the next Sunday morning, "the whole number of regiments demanded from Massachusetts were already either in Washington or in Fortress Monroe or on their way to the defence of the capital. It was at midnight on the 10th of April, after the exhausting labors of the day, that he wrote, at his own house, the despatch to the mayor of Baltimore, which has so endeared him to the popular heart. "I pray you," he wrote, "to cause the bodies of our Massachusetts soldiers, dead in Baltimore, to be immediately laid out, preserved with ice, and tenderly sent forward by express to me." His activity during the first month of the war was not more marked than his mental self-possession. The rush and whirl of events did not hurry him from his balance. Overwhelmed with all sorts of propositions, recommendations, proposals, pertinent and impertinent,

such as might be expected in an emergency when the confusion of men's minds was as great as the warmth of their sentiments, the governor stood firm and calm, listening, analyzing, deciding, quick to detect what was judicious, proof against all the generousities of unreason. No one was more impassioned than he: no one was more serene and self-centred. He was all alive, soul and body, heart and brain, and, being all alive, his intellect showed its clearness and grasp, as well as his sensibility its fire and impulse. "There is nothing," we are told, "more terrible than activity without insight"; and the governor's activity was identical with his insight. He decided swiftly, and he decided surely. The rarest quality of comprehensive statesmanship, the readiness to assume responsibility, seemed native to his intrepid intelligence. "Immediately," he writes to President Lincoln on the 3d of May, "on receiving your Proclamation, we took up the war, and have carried on our part of it, in the spirit in which we believe the administration and the American people intend to act; namely, as if there was not an inch of red tape in the world." So thoroughly kindled was his whole nature that, when, a few days later, he addressed the legislature in its extra session, his rapid recital of the powers he had assumed, and the work he had done, combined the explicitness of a business document with something of the lyric rush of an ode of triumph.

This unwearying fire of soul burned steadily within him during the whole five years of heroic effort and heroic toil, which made his administration such an epoch in the history of the State. He knew that the disease of which he eventually died might strike him at any moment. Three months before he entered on his glorious career as governor he was warned by his physician that any over-exertion of brain would endanger his health, and probably his life. He was notoriously as regardless of the warning as a brave soldier, going to battle, would be regardless of the admonition that he might be hit by a bullet. The care that a man takes of his health should, of course, be subordinate to his sense of duty. Considerations of hygiene did not enter into the soul of William of Orange, doing that which he knew would reduce him to an "asthmatic skeleton"; into the soul of Milton, doing that which he knew would deprive him of his sight; into the soul of Latimer, doing that which he knew would lead him to the stake. On the same principle Governor Andrew felt that he was at his post, not to take care of himself, but to look after the rights and interests of others; and, indeed, any man who evades the duty of the hour in order to save himself for some future great occasion is a man to whom no great occasion will ever come.

Taking thus his life in his hand, he, in the most emphatic sense of the phrase, "enlisted for the war." To perform every duty as it rose or as it was anticipated was both his labor and his delight. "The only question," he said, "which I can entertain is what *to do*; and, when that question is answered, the other is, what *next to do*." The record of that heroic activity is too long to be recited here. There is no time even to allude to more than a few of its shining results. The mere statement of the fact that Massachusetts, during the war, contributed nearly a hundred and sixty thousand men to the army and navy, and expended nearly twenty-eight millions of dollars from her own treasury, shows how laborious and how sagacious must have been the exertions of her executive head. But the details of all this work, the wear and tear of heart and brain they involved, the minute supervision they required, the audacity and the tact demanded for their



skilful management, the fret, anxiety, perplexity, disappointment, which were their too common accompaniments,—who shall estimate them? The governor drudged in the service of a clear-seeing, far-seeing statesmanship; but the drudgery was still exhausting to body and mind. And then the prejudices he had to overcome! He saw from the first that the war must destroy slavery, and he urged the issuing of the Presidential Proclamation of Emancipation before it came. What cries from prudent patriots that he was perilling the cause by his wish to give it a new moral stimulant! He saw from the first that the negroes should have a part in the war which was sure to emancipate them, and he was the first Northern governor to organize black regiments. What gibes from fathers of families whose sons his policy saved from the draft! In the fourteen or fifteen thousand military appointments he made, how often must he have wounded the self-esteem of disappointed applicants, and how bitter was often their resentment! And, in addition to his labors in the State itself it is to be remembered that his duties called him frequently to Washington to press the settlement of State claims on the national government, to enforce his views of public policy on the national administration, and especially to insist that no just complaints of his Massachusetts regiments should be left unrelieved.—*From Edwin P. Whipple's Eulogy on Andrew.*

John Albion Andrew, the great war governor of Massachusetts (1861-65), was born at Windham, Me., a small town near Sebago Lake, May 31, 1818, two years before the organization of Maine as a separate State. His first American ancestor on his father's side was Robert Andrew, who, coming from England, settled in Rowley, Mass., and died there in 1668. Another of his ancestors was Francis Higginson, the first minister of Salem. A portrait of this old clergyman hung over the mantel in the Council Chamber during the whole of Andrew's administration as governor. Andrew's grandfather, whose name he bore, was a successful Salem merchant, who removed to Windham after the birth of his son Jonathan, the governor's father. The latter, who became a prosperous merchant at Windham, married Nancy G. Pierce, a teacher in Fryeburg Academy, where Daniel Webster also was once a teacher; and John A. Andrew was their oldest son. He was a school-boy in Windham and Salem, and then a student in Bowdoin College, where he graduated in 1837. He came to Boston to study law in the office of Henry H. Fuller, an uncle of Margaret Fuller, and was admitted to the bar in 1840. In 1840 he joined the Anti-slavery party. In 1854 he defended the parties indicted in Boston for attempting the rescue of the fugitive slave Burns. He was elected to the Massachusetts legislature in 1858. In 1850 he initiated and directed the measures for the legal defence of John Brown in Virginia. In 1860 he was at the head of the Massachusetts delegation to the Republican Convention in Chicago, which nominated Lincoln for the Presidency; and in the same year he was elected governor of Massachusetts, receiving the largest popular vote that had ever been cast for a candidate for that office. He was governor for five years, finally in 1865 declining re-election, and was the most eminent of the many eminent governors of the Civil War period. He died Oct. 30, 1867. His home was for many years in Hingham. There is a statue of him by his grave in the Hingham cemetery, and another in the State House in Boston.

Governor Andrew waited long for an adequate biography, the thorough and admirable work in two volumes by Professor Henry G. Pearson being published in 1904. There were earlier biographical sketches by Albert G. Browne, Jr., his secretary, and Peleg W. Chandler; the eulogy delivered by Edwin P. Whipple before the City Council of Boston in 1867, printed in Mr. Whipple's volume is entitled "Success and its Conditions"; and there are valuable memorial sketches by James Freeman Clarke, F. P. Stearns, F. Moore, E. F. Stone, Mrs. Stowe, and others. A volume of his political and general addresses is a desideratum. His Valedictory Address to the Massachusetts legislature, Jan. 4, 1866, and two literary addresses are included in the appendix to Mr. Chandler's biography.

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